

1920

The Miners' International.

(Geneva, 2nd to 6th August, 1920.)

Before the war the Miners' International was the most highly developed organ of international trade unionism, but in 1914 its activities were temporarily suspended. The first movement towards their resumption came from the Miners' Federation of Great Britain which early in 1919 expressed its willingness to co-operate again with the miners of the countries with which Great Britain had been at war. The General Secretary, Thomas Ashton, thereupon called together the previously existing International Executive Committee, which comprised German and Austrian members. As a result of the meeting invitations were issued to the miners' unions of all countries to send representatives to an International Congress.

The Belgian unions appointed delegates, but these declared themselves opposed to meeting the Germans, and requested Ashton to summon a Congress comprising representatives of the unions of Allied countries only. The request was not complied with, and the German delegates attended the Congress which was held at Amsterdam on the 26th August, 1919.

No agreement was at that time reached upon the crucial question of the reconstruction of the International and further discussion was postponed. The International Executive met at Brussels on the 11th and 12th of February, 1920, and determined upon a full Congress, the twenty-fifth, to be held at Geneva.

The Congress comprised 148 delegates representing 2,500,000 miners of thirteen nations. Its importance was increased by the fact that the present industrial crisis is due very largely to the deficit in the production of coal, and by the fact that its decisions, especially those concerning the hours of labour in mines, might have important effects upon the international arrangements concluded recently at Spa with regard to the distribution of coal.

The principal aim of the organised miners in future, was, declared the President, Mr. Smillie, in opening the Congress,

the "elimination of capitalism and its consequences" from the mining industry. He appealed for union and solidarity that this aim might be achieved.

THE REVIVED INTERNATIONAL.

The first business of the Congress was the revision of the rules of the International Federation. A draft of the proposed rules was put forward by the Belgian delegation, and some phrases of it called for an enquiry into the action of the German section of the International during the war. The reporter insisted that in future more adequate guarantees should be given that the miners of any one nation should not forget their obligations to the International. At previous Conferences, he alleged, the German delegates had always withheld their support from resolutions which had as their object the prevention of war; it was only possible for the Miners' International to continue its existence if all sections dissociated themselves from war procedure. The German delegation then declared that the miners whom they represented recognised the necessity for stronger guarantees and were willing to do their utmost to make such guarantees valid.

The speeches made on this subject recalled the fact that the miners have been distinguished among the organised workers by their consistent opposition to war; at successive Congresses they have adopted resolutions to this effect, and they undoubtedly felt keenly their powerlessness in the opening days of the recent war, when their efforts, described by the President, to get into touch with each other, entirely failed.

Finally the revision of the rules was referred to the International Executive Committee and the following motion, which was later presented to the Congress, was unanimously carried.

"The delegates of the International Congress of Miners, assembled at Geneva after the reconstitution of the Miners' International upon more living and active bases than before the war, resolve that.

"Whereas the International Federation of Miners, judging from past experience, can assure the peace of the World :

"Whereas the highly important question of peace and war has been several times raised at meetings of the International Congress :

"Whereas the question of the general strike to prevent war has not been favourably received by certain sections of the International, and

"Whereas the monstrous war of 1914-18 would have been avoided had this measure been put into force :

"For these reasons, and to avoid a recurrence of such a crime which is a disgrace to the whole human race, the International declares itself ready to call a universal general strike in the event of an aggressive military policy on the part of any monarch or any government whatsoever."

The draft rules submitted by the Belgian delegation were, with some modifications made in Committee, adopted by the Congress, which then proceeded to the discussion of matters of vital interest not only to themselves but also to the world at large. An attempt is made in the following pages to summarise the arguments used and the statements put forward in support of the more important of these subjects.

NATIONALISATION.

Discussion on the principle of *nationalisation* arose from Hodges' presentation of the British report, which contained a declaration to the effect that "the miners believe that no important progress can be accomplished in this industry unless the power of the private capitalists be destroyed, and the industry taken over by the Government and administered in the interests of the whole nation."

According to Hodges, the term *nationalisation* as used by the British, and the term *socialisation* as used on the Continent, meant the same thing — the transference of the mines to the ownership of the State, not, however, to be worked by the State, but through a body representative of the technical and manual workers, of the Government, and of the consumers. By such a plan the evils of both capitalism and bureaucracy would be removed. Only, however, by combined international action could such a result be achieved : the miners of any nation attempting this singly would be overwhelmed by the capitalist competition of other nations. Moreover, the International Coal Board which was proposed by the German delegates would be useless for the purpose of controlling production, and especially of avoiding overproduction, unless it were formed for the most part of workers.

The Report of the British delegation recalled the fact that during the first half of 1919 a British Royal Commission on Mines held an enquiry, as a result of which the majority of the Commissioners advised the Government to reorganise the industry on the basis of the nationalisation of the mines and minerals, the administration of which should be confided to a Ministry of Mines and to national and regional councils, composed as has been indicated above. In the face of this Majority Report, however, the Government had refused to nationalize the mining industry in Great Britain.

The position in Germany was clearly explained by the delegate Imbusch. The mines there had not been socialised, although the greater part of them were State property. They remained still under the influence of the private capitalists who exploited them. It was true that the State itself managed some few of them, but bureaucratic administration had not yielded good results. In an effort to increase production, Shop Committees had been created by a law of 1919, but the profits continued to go to the private capitalists. Then finally the Economic Council — really an Economic Parliament — had been set up in Germany. But, declared the speaker, only under the direction of the workers themselves would production be intensified.

The policy of nationalisation was urged by almost all speakers, as the only means of securing the increased productivity which the world at present asked from the miners. Nationalisation would assure the miner that the result of his labour went for the benefit of the community. "Production" said Imbusch, "will increase when the miners know for whom they are working". Another opinion frequently expressed was that only when the industry was nationalised would the necessary improvements in mining equipment be made, and without these increased output was impossible. Nationalisation would also permit of advantage being taken of the technical skill and knowledge of the miners themselves in a way which was not otherwise possible.

The Congress revealed no differences of opinion with regard to the *principle* of nationalisation; rather did an onlooker get the impression that with the miners this was already "*chose jugée*", that their opinions on this point were formed. But with regard to the method of the application of the principle and the measures to be taken for its realisation, there were differences of view. The French delegation wished Congress itself at once to set to work upon the elaboration of a course of action. The British leader Smillie however feared that this would lead to dissension; the circumstances differed in each country, and a good method of action in one country was not necessarily good in another; he wished therefore that the Congress should show a unanimous front on the broad principle of nationalisation leaving the details of action to be worked out by the various national sections in the way best suited to their own individual circumstances. The resolution finally adopted was a compromise between the two views.

"This Congress, considering that nationalisation or socialisation is the only organisation and method by which the life of the people can be assured, decides that the International Executive Committee shall meet within two months of the rising of Congress to consider the position of the nationalisation campaign in each country.

"It gives to the Executive Committee from this moment full power to act by all the methods at its disposal, including the general strike if that become necessary, so as to secure the rapid realisation of nationalisation in all countries.

"The national sections will report to the Executive Committee, which shall thus be able to keep abreast of the general situation and to decide upon the lines of action to be followed.

"If the Executive Committee consider it indispensable to have recourse to extreme measures, it shall in the first place assure itself by definite undertakings of the support of the various federated national sections which will have the duty of carrying out its decisions.

"The national sections should immediately prepare themselves for any eventuality, so that they may be ready at all times to fulfil the decisions of the Executive Committee".

MINIMUM WAGE.

Discussion on wages arose from the reports of the French and Austrian miners. In *Austria*, according to the delegate Zwanziger, the minimum wage has been established, but not throughout the whole country. It amounts only to about three-fourths of the average wage, but its establishment has helped in the backward areas. Wages are based on this minimum with additions according to the size of the family. At present the average is between 80 and 90 kronen per day.

In *Germany*¹ the minimum wage was stated to be 80% of the average wage of all workers. Wages, it was declared, have increased from 6 marks per shift in 1913 to 50 in 1920, but, as in Austria, the cost of living has increased at an even higher rate, being now eleven times what it was in the earlier year.

In *Czecho-Slovakia*, stated Daxl, a minimum wage is fixed by law and agreements at 30 kronen per shift, but the average wage actually received is less. Wages have risen since 1901 from 18 kr. 40 per week to 120 kr. but the cost of living, according to official statistics, has advanced from 20 to 270 kr. for a family of four persons.

The *Jugo-Slav* delegate described the position of miners in his country as tragic. The Government was attempting to reduce wages, though the cost of living was higher than in any other country. Whilst flour cost 15 kr. a kilogram and sugar 82 kr., the average wage was 32 kr. per week.

The *Belgian* national secretary, Delattre, expounded the principles upon which, according to his idea, the minimum wage should be calculated. It should first of all correspond with

¹ See Appendix A. for wages in Germany, Holland and Great Britain.

the cost of living, and, secondly, it should increase with the increasing prosperity of the industry. Special danger or special skill should be taken into account. Recently a joint committee had drawn up an agreement, under which the Belgian minimum wage was based upon the cost of living — a variation of 5% in this latter involving a corresponding variation in the wage — and upon considerations of supply and demand. Belgian wages have risen, it was said, 29% more than the cost of living.

The conditions attached to the reception of the minimum wage, declared Delattre, should be defined by the Congress, and he suggested the following :

“For conscientious work — that is to say, work which furnishes a minimum output to be determined — the worker should receive a wage high enough for the maintenance of his family”

Payer, former minister of the Huszar Cabinet in *Hungary*, declared that under the present régime wages which had been raised to 36 kronen for an eight hour day, were now reduced by 30%.

The discussion on the minimum wage was terminated by a declaration by Bartuel to the effect that the wages question could only be solved by socialisation of the mines.

THE WORKING DAY.

The Belgian draft of the proposed new rules declared one of the objects of the International Miners' Federation to be “the limitation of the working day to a maximum of eight hours in the twenty-four (bank to bank for underground workers)”. This was supported by Bartuel for the French miners. He declared however, in reply to the German delegates, who stated that in *Germany* the seven hour day had been obtained and the six hour day was being demanded, that the proposed regulations established eight hours merely as a maximum which should not be exceeded. There was nothing in the rule to prevent miners of any nation seeking a working day of shorter duration. But the best method of regulating the hours of labour, in his opinion, was to take account of the needs of the community. The principal cause of the present high cost of living, he believed, was the scarcity of coal and raw material, and for this reason he did not wish to insist on a shorter day at the present time. Socialisation of the mines, however, would give opportunity for scientific and technical improvements which might eventually so increase production as to necessitate not more than six hours' work per day from the miner.

The *Czecho-Slovakian* delegate Daxl urged the standardisation of the working day in all countries. In his land the miners had secured an eight hour day by law and a forty-six hour week by agreement. The eight hour day has also been secured in *Yugo-Slavia*, but according to Cobal, the delegate from that

country, the Government was beginning a campaign for longer hours. It was stated that in *Hungary* the eight hour day gained after the revolution had been abolished and succeeded by a twelve hour day.¹

The German aspiration for a six hour day received the support of the delegate from Luxembourg and of Straker, who expressed the British miners' view.

On the question of the effect of a shorter day on production, the Dutch delegate declared that the principal cause of the reduced output in *Holland* was defective management on the part of the employers. A reduction of 70% in output in *Czecho-Slovakia* was attributed largely to underfeeding. In *Germany*, it was stated, the reduction in hours was at first accompanied by an actual increase in output, but the continued under-nourishment of the miners had resulted in a subsequent diminution.

The suggestion that the output might still be maintained or even increased in spite of a shorter working day if the number of shifts were increased met with strong opposition from the British delegation; the Germans on the other hand could not accept the suppression of the shift system. Finally the whole question was referred to the International Executive Committee for consideration².

AN INTERNATIONAL COAL-BOARD.

Towards the end of its labours the Congress discussed a resolution upon the institution of an international coal-office, the object of which was explained by Hue. The distribution of coal involves under the present system a vast amount of useless expense and waste. Switzerland affords a striking example in that it is now receiving the greater part of its coal from the United States of America. This coal traverses three countries with the result that it costs twenty-eight to thirty francs the 100 kilogrammes whilst before the war the price was not more than ten francs. An enquiry is then necessary into this wastage in transport, and Hue suggested that the services of the League of Nations might very well be enlisted to this end. The following resolution was therefore adopted unanimously :

“The Congress, considering the ill-distribution of fuel, ores and other materials and the speculation and intermediate profits which are given full opportunity in this as in all other spheres,

“Considering also the misery which results from such a state of things,

¹ For hours worked in Great Britain, Germany and Holland, see Appendix B.

² Some figures of production, taken from the Reports handed into Congress by the Associations of various countries are given in Appendix C.

"Expresses the desire that there be constituted within a brief period an international office for the distribution of fuel, ores and other raw materials indispensable for the revival of a normal economic life, and

"Requests that the International Labour Office should take into careful consideration this urgent demand, put forward by the delegates of the International Federation of Miners, and,

"Entrusts to it the task of finding a remedy as early as possible, in accord with the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Miners and with the assistance of the various branches of the League of Nations."

Before the vote was taken Hue had declared that the German delegates did not desire in any way to influence or modify the international arrangements already concluded with regard to this matter.

M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, who had been present during a large part of the Congress and had already expressed the interest with which the International Labour Office had followed its deliberations, was invited at this point to inform the Congress how that Office could further the end aimed at by the resolution.

He indicated briefly how far and to what extent the Office was ready to assume the heavy task thus thrown upon it. It was not the first time that the International Labour Organisation had been confronted by this problem, for at its first Conference at Washington the Italian Workers' delegate had put forward a resolution demanding that raw materials should be distributed among the countries of the world in such a way as to assure regularity of production and to avoid crises of unemployment. In other spheres the inter-allied or neutral Conferences and the Executive Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance had decided to bring forward the question of the distribution of food stuffs. There was thus a general movement which reflected the anxiety of the world with regard to the distribution of the materials necessary to civilisation.

Finally M. Thomas undertook to communicate the request of the Congress to the next meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office which takes place early in October.

APPENDICES

Extracts from the Reports presented to the Congress by the miners' organisations of Germany, Great Britain and Holland.

APPENDIX A. — WAGES.

GERMANY.

We subjoin a table of the salaries agreed to in the spring of 1920, comparing them with average salaries before the tariff regulations.

It is the young workmen and workwomen (on the surface) who receive the lowest salaries; the highest are paid to the hewers who work underground.

	Salaries fixed by tariffs 1920 mks	Salaries net average 3 rd quarter 1918 mks	By the order concerning work 1914 mks
<i>Coal Mines :</i>			
Upper Silesia.....	17,20-50,00	3,16-10,84	1,31-4,79
Lower »	5,60-48,00	3,22- 8,53	1,35-3,89
Ruhr district	10,00-45,00	3,60-13,28	1,47-6,17
Saar »	10,80-51,00	3,54-11,36	1,43-5,03
Aix-la-Chapelle district...	9,20-40,00	3,32-12,14	1,64-5,44
Saxony.....	15,00-48,00	8,15 average	
Bavaria.....	22,00-41,00	3,24- 9,78	2,27-4,85
<i>Lignite Mines :</i>			
Central Germany.....	10,50-32,00	3,72- 8,08	1,92-4,43
Cologne district.....	12,00-34,40	4-88-10,72	2,04-5,75
<i>Ores :</i>			
Siegen.....	14,00-41,00	3,65-11,49	1,85-4,96
Nassau.....	14,50-34,00	3,68- 7,15	1,39-3,46
Mansfeld.....	11,00-29,00	3,80- 9,13	1,84-3,87
<i>Polish Mines :</i>			
In all districts.....	11,20-33,00	4,31-10,90	1,39-4,94

For the Cologne lignite, the salaries given are those of March; for the lignite of Upper Silesia, Aix-la-Chapelle and Central Germany, they are those of April; the others are for May. In the Ruhr district, a new salary tariff has been fixed for June and brings an increase of six marks a day.

Besides the salaries which we have just mentioned, the sums paid to children must also be noted; in most districts they vary from one to two marks a day. In the Saar district, 45 marks per month is paid for a child and 30 marks for a married woman. As

salary paid in coal, the coal miners receive from 100 to 140 hundredweight or 42 hectolitres of coal (Saxony), the workmen in the lignite mines 80 hundredweight of briquettes. In those places where the coal is not given gratis, it is sold at a price far inferior to the market price. The new tariffs have also recognised, for the first time, holidays for the workmen. According to the districts and the time the workmen have been employed in the mine, from 3 to 10 days' holiday are given every year. And during these holidays, the workmen receive their average salary.

The salaries fixed at present are only high in appearance. As the prices of indispensable articles of food are eight or ten times more than before the war, the purchasing power of present day salaries is inferior to that of pre-war days. The standard of living of workers in the mines in Germany is very far from high, because the low salaries paid during the war made the families of working-men very poor....

GREAT BRITAIN.

Wages show an increase of 155% on those of 1914. They are not uniform over the whole country, but vary much according to the district. The following figures give the average wages per day of the various classes of workers.

Classes of Workers

	Average daily wages :		
Hewers on piece work.....	21	sh.	10 p.
Hewers on day work.....	17	»	6 »
Fillers and Putters.....	16	»	9 »
Wood and Stonemen, repair work.....	18	»	8 »
Deputies.....	18	»	10 »
Other Underground Workers.....	15	»	5 »
Enginemmen (winding).....	17	»	4 »
Other engineers.....	15	»	1 »
Oven-workers.....	14	»	8 »
Surface Workers.....	14	»	9 »
Sorters.....	14	»	0 »
Mechanics.....	15	»	1 »
Other work on the surface.....	13	»	10 »
Youths and Boys underground.....	10	»	0 »
Youths and Boys on the surface.....	8	»	0 »
Women and Girls.....	8	»	6 »
Average per person employed.....	16	»	6 »

The minimum scales of wages in existence vary according to the district; the average is 14s to 18s for the different classes of adult workers and less for the younger people.

Overtime is paid at the ordinary rate plus one-third.

Work at the end of the week, from midday Saturday to Sunday midnight is paid at a half more than the ordinary rate.

HOLLAND.

Wages (First quarter 1920).

The salaries of the underground workers are variable.

Hewers..... on the average fl. 8.57 (fr. 16.96 = 15 sh. 4d)
All workmen. » » » 7.12 (» 14.09 = 12 sh. 10d)

The salaries of the surface workers are :

Above 16.... on the average fl. 5.34 (fr. 10.57 = 9 sh. 7d)
Below 16.... » » » 1.73 (» 3.42 = 3 sh. 1d)

APPENDIX B. — HOURS OF WORK.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Underground Workers..... 7 hours bank to bank.
Surface Workers..... 7 ³/₄ hours, exclusive of meal times
Average number of shifts..... 5 per week.

GERMANY.

A short time before the revolution on the 18th October 1918, an assembly was held for the first time of representatives of the miners' organisations with the directors of the associations of mine owners. A Central Joint Employers' and Workers' Association was arrived at. The organisations of the workmen were recognised as being empowered to treat, and tariff contracts were made out. This being done, the conditions of work in the mines began again on a new legal basis.

By an order of the socialist representatives of the Council (23rd November 1918), the normal duration of a day's work was fixed at eight, without counting the interruptions, for all workmen and workwomen in Germany. This decision had as a consequence, for many mine workers also, especially those who work on the surface, a considerable diminution in the hours of work.

But if all the workmen on the surface did eight hour's work it seemed unfair not to grant a shorter working day to underground workers. By means of tariff contracts, their demands have been granted, as will be seen from the following table, which shows the working hours in the chief mining districts in former days and at present :

	1920 Working Day		Before the Revolution Working Day	
	Undergr. Bank to Bank	Surface Without Pauses	Undergr. Not Bank to Bank	Surface With Pauses
<i>Coal Mines.</i>				
Upper Silesia.....	7½	8	8 - 12	10-12
Lower »	7	8	8 - 8½	9-12
Ruhr district..	7	8	8	9-12
Saar » ..	7½	8	8 - 8½	9-12
Aix-la-Chapelle » ..	7	8	8 - 9	9-12
Saxony.....	7	8	8½-9½	9-12
Bavaria.....	7	8	8 - 8½	9-12
<i>Lignite Mines.</i>				
Central Germany.....	8	8	9 - 11½	10-12
Cologne district.....	8	8	12	12
<i>Ores.</i>				
Siegen.....	7½	8	8	9-10
Nassau.....	7½	8	8	9-10
Mansfield.....	8	8	8½	9-11
<i>Potash Mines.</i>				
In all districts.....	7½	8	8½-9	-912

HOLLAND.

Underground Workers.....	8 hour shift.
On Saturdays.....	6 hour shift.
Surface Workers.....	8 hour shift

APPENDIX C. — PRODUCTION.

GERMANY.

Total Output of Coal.

	Coal	Lignite
1913....	191,511,000	87,116,000
1914....	161,535,000	83,947,000
1915....	146,712,000	88,370,000
1916....	158,847,000	94,332,000
1917....	167,311,000	95,553,000
1918....	160,526,000	100,663,000
1919....	116,673,000	93,829,000

In almost all countries, the consequence of the war was a great decrease in the output of coal.

We give below figures which indicate the total output of various countries (in millions of tons).

	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
United States....	570	513	531	590	651	684	630
Great Britain....	292	270	257	260	252	230	224
Germany.....	191	161	146	158	167	160	116
France.....	40	29	20	21.5	29	26.3	22
Belgium.....	22.8	16.7	14.2	16.9	14.9	13.9	18.5

GREAT BRITAIN.

Production.

	Approximate Tonnage	Persons employed	Output per person employed TONS
1913.....	287,400,000	1,111,000	259
1914.....	265,700,000	1,117,000	238
1915.....	253,300,000	952,000	266
1916.....	256,000,000	966,000	265
1917.....	248,000,000	993,000	250
1918.....	227,700,000	961,000	237
1919.....	230,000,000	1,140,000	202

Present production : 240,000,000 per annum.

Destination (determined by the Government).

	Tons
Exported to other countries.....	21,000,000
Consumed by ships going to foreign ports.....	15,000,000
Industries of the country.....	128,000,000
Domestic and household use, including coal used in undertakings supplying gas and elec- tricity for domestic use.....	52,000,000
Consumed in the mines.....	18,000,000
Consumed by mineworkers.....	6,000,000
Total per year.....	240,000,000

Cost of production per ton sold.

	1913	At present
Wages.....	6 sh. 10½d	24 sh. 11d
Timber and other necessities....	1 » 1 »	4 » 7
Salaries and other expenses.....	1 » 0 »	1 » 7¾
Royalties.....	0 » 6 »	0 » 7½
Profits of proprietors.....	1 » 6½	2 » 1
	11 sh. 0d	33 sh. 10¼d

Observations.

Since 1913 there has been a regular diminution in the output of coal, and for the current year it is probable that the output will be 47½ million tons less than in 1913. The number of workers has increased by 64,000.

The cost of production has considerably increased, principally because of the diminution in output.

HOLLAND.

Production.

	Undergr. Workers	Surface Workers	TOTAL	Output Tons (1000 k.)
1914	7,374	2,524	9,898 (1)	1,928,540
1915	7,622	2,649	10,271 (1)	2,262,148
1916	9,226	3,240	12,466 (1)	2,656,087
1917	10,922	4,106	15,028 (1)	3,007,925
1918	12,904	5,346	18,250 (1)	3,399,512
1919	15,636	6,529	22,165 (2)	3,400,239

(1) On the average. (2) End of December.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

OFFICE

GENEVA

October 21st 1920.

Studies and Reports

Series A

No. 8

The International Labour Organisation : A Comparaison.

Now that the International Labour Organisation is well established, it is of interest to look back to its origins and to note what a remarkable advance it represents in the development of international government. The idea of an international standard in labour legislation is almost as old as labour legislation itself. The more progressive employers as well as the workers have demanded it for a century, and the Governments of most industrial countries have been sympathetic to the idea at least since 1890, when the first official International Conference on labour regulation was held at Berlin. That Conference was attended by Government representatives from Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and Norway (then united), and Switzerland. It adopted standards concerning the employment of women and children work in mines. Sunday work and inspection. But no conventions were then drawn up, nor were any further official Conferences held for 15 years, though in the meantime several unofficial Conferences had been organised, and the International Association of Labour Legislation had been created for the express purpose of bringing about the regulation of labour conditions by international agreement. At the instigation of the Association the Governments met again in 1905 to consider two subjects only — the use of white phosphorus and the night work of women. Conventions were successfully drafted by the Conference and a diplomatic Conference held the following year duly confirmed them. The Night Work Convention was signed in the first instance on behalf of only 14 Governments, and the Phosphorus Convention on behalf of only 7. In 1914, there were only 11 countries which had ratified the former and 11 colonial states which had adhered through their mother countries; and there were 10 direct signatories to the latter.

These Conventions were welcomed by the International Association as a satisfactory beginning. But the next few years

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